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The following is a free translation of a memorandum issued by the Politburo (the Executive Committee of the Polish Workers' Party) as an enclosure to a report on relations with the Catholic Church.

1. Catholicism is one of the strongest forces in the world.
2. The sudden changes and revolutions, which have altered the social, political and economic structures of states and nations, have never pervaded the Church. The Church is an eternal institution. Its activities are based not on tens of years but on centuries.
3. Because of this, the Church can allow itself the privilege of looking on patiently until all scientific achievements appear in the light of truth and the good, the moral, and eternal segregate themselves from the false, the evil and the transient.
4. The Church is watching carefully all technical and economic conquests, and all new political and cultural developments, abstaining from rash judgment in the first case, trying to penetrate the second by its own spirit and philosophy.
5. The Church, in the name of Divine order and Divine rule on earth, is taking an active position in connection with all problems relating to the fate of states and nations, or man's freedom. The premise that the Church is a superhuman institution contributes in some cases to its progressiveness based on Christ's teachings.
6. The privilege of infallibility in problems of faith, and scholastic character of the Popes, has made it easy for the Church to preserve unity and cohesion. This gives it strength and means of defense in these very difficult times the Church has to go through, and keeps it from internal cracks and doubts assailing the human heart.
7. Men of today are trying to liberate themselves from the Church's fetters. They wish to live by temporal concepts, in the present-day world.
8. This is Communism's point of view, because this view is the result of historical materialism.

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9. The Church has declared war on this justified Communist point of view. At present the Church is threatened by the State from outward, and by liberal thought and desires from the inside--these two elements pressing upon it under the influence of Communist action and principles. In the former case, the USSR is a partisan to destruction of the Church; in the latter there is great danger of internal dissent and rent. This is penetrating both the clergy and laymen.
10. It is more and more difficult for progressive Catholics to follow the road prescribed by the Church--we do not speak of our Marxist comrades.
11. The fight of the Church against Communism shows that the former wishes to extricate itself from the defensive position to which it was forced through progress and revolution. In spite of this it is still keeping to the same platform on which centuries have placed it.
12. At this time the Church is moving away from man's suffering, from the nation's ills, from human sickness, and from the anxieties of the State. It is lowering its dignity, it is running the dangers of the ghetto, instead of coming nearer to the ideals of Divine rule on earth which is common to all races and to all men, nations and states.
13. The Church is poisoning the atmosphere of progress and the fight for a better world. It is showing tendencies to defend old privileges and irretrievable political, economic and social positions of the privileged classes. As long as the Vatican will not reform its clergy and will not proceed on the road of new truths which flow from Communist principles, so long it will be unable to rebuild the meaning of its authority, its leadership in the world of the spirit and morality. It will be unable to strengthen its Catholic organizations which it is intensely aiming to do in all Catholic countries. Catholicism is consolidating its political position in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland and is putting into place political parties which are strongly tied to the Vatican, joining the fight for a new political countenance in these countries, at the same time opposing Communism in its wish to solve economic, social and political problems in the Marxian spirit.
14. The era of individualism is at its end. Science is creating a road for Communism and totalitarianism. The Church has something to say in this matter. It wants to create a new order based on the principle of the Gospel. Its advice is to solve the evil and inequality of the proletariat by evolutionary charity, when the rich will deign to give something to the poor because of a caprice.
15. The specific sign of our epoch is the release of atomic energy, which discovery will draw after it a tremendous development in technology and science. Science is the force of our times; it eliminates frontiers, cultural, racial and state differences. It removes differences within the estates and privileges of the classes. Man is becoming classless, stateless and international--he must become agnostic. The era is at hand when there will be only one state, one earth and one "flock."
16. Development of science is a further step in the liberation of mankind. A liberation from the power of the elements, the conquest of space and time. The harnessing of science by capitalism, and its becoming a tool of the privileged classes belongs to the past. The fact that science was in the service of capital bred the principle that life is not necessary as long as production thrives.
17. Thanks to science the concept of freedom has been enlarged. Freedom means that man has liberated himself from matter and the idea of free competition, both of which serve capitalist production.

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18. Science has decided that the individual's work has no sense and bears no fruits if it isn't tied up to the process of production. Under the weight of this principle economic systems are changing. Today's economic system cannot count on effects if the whole will not be subordinate to a planned concept. Individual initiative must be subordinated to the community. The problems of science can only be solved through socialization. Then millions of people will become one large production shop.
19. Science, the gift of the individualistic era, pulled individualism to its highest peak, and forced man to serve the community.
20. Between the poles of individualism and Communism human fate takes on a form. It (human fate) is deserting the individualistic past to adopt the Communist future. The spiritual evolution is still undecided. Here the Church can play a decisive role.
21. On the economic level, science has decided for Communism. The Vatican desires to be the spiritual power and the bulwark of moral health.
22. Based on the greatest idea ever created by mankind, the idea of no worldly love, the Church wishes to penetrate the economic situation, the political evolution, and the social strife. It is using this virtue to pave the way in its own fashion, creating political communities through the realization with and without of an all embracing Church, a Church to be a spiritual state in which there will be one shepherd and one flock.
23. This action of the Church and its plans are very deceiving and dangerous for our epoch which is paving the way for Communism and collectivism.
24. The Church is a pretender to the role of regulator of international and international relations, taking for itself the spiritual primacy.
25. In the race to determine who will shape the future of the world youth will play a decisive role. The Church, recognizing this fact, is taking up the fight for youth's soul. Trying to keep it through education in the Catholic doctrines. This means that the Church is stepping out of its defensive role and that it is collecting all forces for the ideological offensive.
26. The Catholic political movement, as I have mentioned, is stepping strongly in France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, and even in Germany where it is creating nostalgia for independence.
27. The Church is universal. The Church is one great mystic community of international character and wishes to embrace the whole of humanity with its influence. In this community we conceived all are brothers, the white and the dark, the masters and the slaves, the men and the women. The universality of the Church is the consequence of the Divine mission and of its earthly organization.
28. The Vatican is tying its plans more and more to the Anglo-Saxon victory. The union of the USA and Britain under the leadership of the US imperialists discloses to the Vatican visions of a return to the Middle Ages when the Roman emperor of German nationality ruled the world, and the Pope ruled human souls.
29. Great were the hopes of Vatican politicians in Mussolini's and Hitler's victories. It is only that which explains the nonintervention of the Pope against the Fascist and Nazi crimes. The totalitarians having failed, the Vatican is pinning its hopes on political and military feats of the Anglo-Saxons, speculating that if the world will be ruled by the Anglo-Saxons, and an Anglo-Saxon peace is established, enormous horizons of expansion and conquest of souls will open up before it. This action will in the eyes of the Vatican lay down the greatest dam to the Communist march.

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30. Spiritual rule forces the Church to serve the cause of peace. But peace cannot be forced upon humanity. The Church is praying for peace and the Popes were always ready to become mediators and judges. (Benedict XV and Pius XI) The Church believes in the efficacy of international law, and all other international institutions like the League of Nations and UNO. But it does not want to become a member of them because it would become dependent on the leading states.
31. The Vatican's policy is striving to unite the Church and to remove the divisions between those who are Christians--the followers of Christ.
32. This policy of the Vatican is very characteristic in these times, and embraces these special problems:
 - (a) The return of the Anglican Church to the fold of the Roman.
 - (b) Peace with the Protestant Churches and unification with Rome.
 - (c) A reconciliation with the Eastern Church under Rome's primacy.
33. These are very bold concepts which if successful would have tremendous results. They are solidly tied to the great and very secret plans of the Anglo-Saxons who are more and more in contact with the Vatican.
34. Unity between the Roman, Protestant, and Anglican Churches means unity of a Christian Europe. It also means a moral foundation and the most dangerous antiaxis against Communism. Counting on reconciliation of the Eastern Church means the destruction of the USSR by the Anglo-Saxons. To destroy Communism completely as a pagan and anti cultural current it is planned to use all old religious traditions which in spite of propaganda and ruthless action are latent and ever more strongly and powerfully awakening in the hearts of the Russian people. The pulpit, communion, and the sacristy are to lead the people of all Russia to another world over the rubble of Communism, and base it on faith in Christ, Papal rule of souls, American capital and Churchill's diplomacy.
35. The attempt to unite the Anglican and Roman Churches in 1921 and 1926 met failure because of differences in the teachings and the position of the authorities. These difficulties can easily become very small when the English politicians will recognize that Communism is taking hold in England.
36. Speaking of Protestantism, whose birth was a result of individualism, there are even today currents which are ready to make peace with Rome because if split will grow, the problems of faith will become more individualistic, will lead to more and more sects, and a complete disappearance of influence of the Protestant Church, not only on State affairs but even on its own flock.
37. Pius XI was intensely interested in the problems connected with the Eastern Church, and made great efforts to arrive at reconciliation on a "brotherly love" basis. It is for that purpose that the Eastern Congregation and the Papal Institute for Oriental Studies were created by Benedict XV in 1917.
38. There is no need for proof that such a concept is most inimical to the USSR and Communism's influence in the world.
39. Starting with Christ's teachings, the Church should stand on an international platform and demand such a point of view from its faithful. But the Vatican has forged for itself the most convenient double-faced principles. On the one hand it orders all to love one another, even their enemies; this is then an international point of view; on the other hand the principle has been erected that only those who are true nationalists are true Catholics, and only true Catholics are true patriots.
40. In fear for its influence, the Church has declared that no nation and no state can take its place, and no one is competent except the Church. So as not to collide with interests of state, the Church has found an issue in the formula that every nation has its historical mission, its own individual way of attaining historical and national aims.

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41. Every Catholic is therefore obligated in the first place to love his country, and if that ceases to exist, he should yield to the new order (the Pope's position in connection with the Polish rising in November, and in the case of Mussolini's action in Ethiopia). Love of one's own country should not breed hate toward each other. The Vatican does not make its fold forget its own country and the love of it; on the other hand, it proclaims the principle of great state on earth which will embrace all humanity regardless of tongue, race and estate in the frame of the Catholic Church.
- If the Church is left to act and practice without hindrance from the state, if the political regimes are truly friendly, the Church advises the faithful to live according to the principle: Give Caesar what is Caesar's, and God what is God's. Prayers for the rulers are said, the pulpit is used to back the regime. But if the authorities have a tendency to limit the privileged situation of the Church, it stops being loyal and is ready to use all its influence to undermine the authority of the ruling agent. Then the Church is a state in the state.
43. In many countries the Church is the most dangerous and the strongest of all parties, and it does not make any difference whether it actually is the initiator of a political party or not. (France, Belgium, Italy) or whether it only unites the faithful (Poland, USA, England). Enthroning Christ the King is the apex of Catholic activity.
44. Individuals, nations and states are members of the Kingdom which is not of this world, whose ruler is God himself. The rule of Christ the King is not of this world, but the weight of this rule is such as to sometimes change the world's march forward and give it its atmosphere.
45. The Vatican did not forget the worldly aspect of the daily lives of the fold whilst creating the foundations for its unity and organization. Pope Pius XII decreed that laymen were also called upon to spread the Faith. They are obligated to watch over its purity among the faithful and propagate it among those who do not believe.
46. Benedict XV interested the lay world in the work of missions. In 1914 Pius XII in his encyclical "Ubi Arcano" created the basis for the Catholic Action. In 1928 he confirmed its statutes, and in 1928 chose St. Francis to be its patron.
47. With the creation of the Catholic Action, the authority of the Church was raised, and the influence of the Vatican over the Catholic world was increased. In its principles the Catholic Action is an apostolic organization. It is a church organization which brings a very dangerous element of battle to it.
48. The Catholic should be not only a passive listener of sermons and receiver of the Sacraments. He must live according to Christ's teachings, he must fight for their realization. The Catholic Action is in the course of development, in the different countries it acquires different forms and forces. It is a lay movement engaged in apostolic work and has a definitely political countenance.
49. Economic trends are purely worldly problems, and it is because of this the Church has not taken sides. In fact, however, it is on the side of feudal, patriarchal capitalist structure. It considers it to be its duty to fight down the excesses of these systems which hit the interest of the working class too blatantly.
50. This solicitude for the workers was born out of the conviction that they were escaping the Church and its control, as they were conscious that the Church was interested only in their heavenly but not their worldly welfare.
51. The Church is a partisan of keeping the class system alive and is an enemy of the proletariat, and especially of their coming into power. This is the policy of the Vatican which wants to un-proletarianize the proletariat. This aim is to be achieved by Christian professional organizations, who should realize their (the workers) demands and secure their interests.

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52. The Papal encyclicals (Rerum Novarum, Quadragesimo Anno) see a danger in the elimination of private property and the further proletarianization of the classes. This sharpens according to these encyclicals the fight between them.
53. As counteraction and neutralization of this tendency the Church advocates this un-proletarianization of the masses.
54. Catholicism, as is proved in many countries, is ready to throw in all its forces to fight for the preservation of the old economic system and the old social forms in the world, tolerating poverty and extortion, calling only on the good will of the exploiters.
55. In Poland the Church has taken a neutral stand, but only officially, assuming that it is above all political parties. Unofficially it is tied to the underground and foreign elements, mainly national.
56. In the Polish Episcopate there are two sides battling each other; one which wants to stay completely isolated from all political problems and is only concerned with moral and educational action; the other demands that the Church and the Catholics partake of political life so as to be able to arrest the influence and progress of Communism in Poland--which Communism is putting more and more pressure on that country.

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